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In Search of a Program

—Michael P. Fogarty

THE Commonweal

The Appeal of Existentialism

by James Collins

OUR SICK COAL INDUSTRY

by John Brophy

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THE
Commonweal
week by week

The Home Stretch

THIS week The Commonweal begins its sixty-first volume. The Thirtieth Anniversary itself is still a month off because of the workings of the Gregorian Calendar, but thirty full years of issues have now been completed.

During this interval, the span of a generation, extending from the time of Belloc and Chesterton to the days of Maritain and John Courtney Murray, The Commonweal has produced 1,560 issues appearing week after week. Its upwards of forty thousand pages would include some seventy-five hundred individual editorials on various topics of the day. Articles and reviews have been equally numerous.

All this has been a labor of love, a sustained and determined effort to formulate and spread a point of view, particularly where it touched on our American culture and on contemporary public issues. It has been a labor in which through the years various editors, eminent scholars and writers and the readers themselves have made sacrifices in a common cause.

In some ways the cooperative character of this modest publishing enterprise has served to great advantage. It has assured the magazine's independence of any individual or interested group. It has enabled The Commonweal to take unpopular stands on controversial issues when the editors were convinced that the circumstances and their Christian principles so demanded. But the lack of any subsidy and of the sort of organized support that makes the publication of other American journals of opinion possible does leave the fate of the magazine in our readers' hands.

It was with this knowledge and a certain confidence that our readers do believe in The Commonweal, and are desirous of extending its influence as a journal of public opinion, that early last spring we launched the Thirtieth Anniversary Subscription Campaign. The object was to raise this magazine's readership to the general level of other American journals of opinion; the goal was eight thousand new long-term subscriptions by December 31.

The drive began rather well. If the original pace had been maintained through the late spring and summer, The Commonweal would today be in sight of the goal. But for a number of weeks now the campaign has been just limping along. There is some evidence that many readers were misled by the Anniversary college essay contest. Not realizing that the thousand dollar prize was the gift of a generous individual donor specifically for that purpose, they apparently assumed that if the magazine were in a position to make so handsome an award, the need for additional subscriptions could hardly be very vital.

Nothing could be further from the case. In fact, at the end of July The Commonweal was in a highly precarious position for lack of funds. Only the extraordinary generosity of a few supporters who were informed of the situation has kept the magazine going. And at this writing we lack the funds for even the normal fall and Christmas subscription promotion. The fate of The Commonweal is indeed in its readers' hands.

THE Anniversary campaign itself has three months to go. Thirty-eight hundred new long-term subscriptions have materialized since its beginning. In order to attain the forty-two hundred needed to reach the goal, there must be more than three hundred new subscriptions every week from now until New Year's. That is why we appeal to our subscribers for a renewed effort to introduce others to The Commonweal, perhaps by making use of handy coupons for new subscriptions like that on this week's back cover.

The motivation for this subscription drive is something more than the attaining of a circulation level comparable to that of the other leading

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journals of opinion; it is something more than merely attaining a 30,000 circulation in the 30th Anniversary year. The circulation of The Commonweal has increased sharply in recent years; it has not, however, kept up with rising costs. On the basis of present production costs, the higher circulation level is essential if The Commonweal is to carry on.

Even now the objective does not appear to us beyond reach. Once our readers are aware of The Commonweal's present need and what it will mean to the magazine to obtain the personal and library subscriptions that will meet it, we feel confident that they will respond generously. We believe that they too, in these days when the fate of the world hangs in the balance, are convinced of the importance of a journal of opinion that brings Christian principles and specifically the principles of the social encyclicals into play. We believe that they stand behind a journal which seeks to speak its mind without fear or favor. The weeks ahead will demonstrate whether this confidence in our cause is justified.

THE WATKINS REPORT

THE course of the Watkins Committee hearings on Senator McCarthy established one thing: here was a model of what Senatorial investigations should be. Dispassionate, objective, and scrupulously judicial, the committee, under Mr. Watkins' leadership, was almost universally seen as providing a hopeful contrast to the earlier, circus-like Army-McCarthy hearings. The only dissents from this view came from those McCarthy supporters for whom *any* criticism of their Senator suggests a form of treason.

The Committee's report, now issued, is unanimous and clear: on two issues it finds that Mr. McCarthy's conduct deserves censure. On two other issues it declares the Senator acted improperly and "committed grave errors." Regardless of what action the Senate itself may take on the report, the Wisconsin legislator has thus received a major, and historic, rebuke. And it is difficult to believe that the full Senate will fail to sustain this rebuke when it meets on November 8 to consider censure action.

The decision to postpone debate on the report until after the Congressional elections seems wise. In the heated atmosphere of October politicking it would have been humanly impossible for the Senate to return a reasoned non-partisan verdict on its most controversial member. After November 3 it should be able to do so. And if, as we suspect will happen, the vote to censure Mr. McCarthy is by a large majority from both parties, a fatal blow will probably have been dealt to one of the most disruptive political careers in American history.

This magazine does not exult in Mr. McCarthy's present misfortunes. No man's downfall can leave one wholly unmoved, and in the defeat even of demagogues there are elements of tragedy. A year ago this man spoke and many trembled; he hurled irresponsible charges of "treason" and the careers of other men were broken. Now he is to be judged by his peers, and in the prospect of his defeat one can almost feel a certain sympathy for "Joe."

One can feel no sympathy, however, for what "Joe" represents and for the disservice to the nation his recklessness has accomplished. This disservice made his censure by the Senate inevitable and long, long overdue. When, and if, it is voted in November, the Senators will merely be catching up with history. In censuring Mr. McCarthy, the Senators will be paying a debt which has to be paid and so will do much to restore the Senate and the nation's honor. We can then, perhaps, get on with the truly important things, no longer diverted by that hysteria which has sapped our strength and which will bear the Junior Senator from Wisconsin's name into history.

"RIGHT-TO-WORK"

WHAT their supporters call "right-to-work" laws continue to arouse controversy and to attract many supporters, especially in certain Southern states. Right now the issues involved in such legislation are being hotly argued in the state

NEXT WEEK

WILLIAM V. SHANNON writes on the mystique of the Right:

"Our Puritan heritage is one of the great assets of conservatism. Herbert Hoover immortalized the meaning of that heritage in the phrase 'rugged individualism.' He might more accurately have said that individualism is only for the rugged. Most people cannot afford it. Most people, that is, are not able to stand entirely alone and survive ruggedly whatever the economic fates may deal them. The conservatives have grudgingly learned to accommodate themselves to such devices for the common welfare as labor unions, old age pensions, and unemployment insurance, but it is doubtful if they really accept them. . . ."

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of Missouri, with feelings running high on both sides.

Advocates of the "right-to-work" legislation start out, of course, with an obvious semantic advantage. Who wants to declare himself against a man's right to work? But the "right-to-work" laws are in fact misleadingly labeled. These laws are plainly anti-union measures, and it is more than coincidence that the proposals are being pushed by groups well known for their last-ditch opposition to the entire idea of labor organizations.

What is at stake is the right of employees to vote for a union shop when they negotiate a contract with their employer. Under a union shop agreement, an employer may continue to hire anyone he pleases, from any source and without any consultation with the union. Then, after a specified period of time, the new employee must join the union.

It is not hard to see why so many employees want a union shop. Collective bargaining raises wages and improves working conditions. The employees who struggled to form a union in order to win such improvements naturally feel that newcomers should help pay for the benefits they will enjoy. They don't want "free loaders."

From the point of view of the union as an organization, the union shop has obvious advantages. It serves as insurance that gains in wages and working conditions will not disappear overnight after months, and sometimes years, of effort and hard work.

For those interested in tranquil labor relations, the union shop has much to recommend it. The union shop lends itself to stability in industrial relations, and a provision for union security in one form or another is incorporated into some of the most successful labor-management contracts in the United States. Under the terms of such contracts, unions are taken for granted as institutions here to stay; they are treated as a normal and indispensable part of an industrial society like ours, and that is as it should be. Only in such an atmosphere can labor and management concentrate on mutually beneficial day-to-day relationships, for the good of all concerned.

Such a climate of industrial peace cannot be achieved by the rash of "right-to-work" proposals now being pushed in the South. The Missouri Chamber of Commerce is now promoting such legislation vigorously, claiming that a "right-to-work" law will attract new industry and make possible the expansion of present business activities. And in certain limited sense the Missouri Chamber of Commerce may actually be correct in some of its claims.

The "runaway shop" which is anxious to pay less than the usual scale is, unfortunately, no novelty on the current American scene. With incentives like the proposed "right-to-work" law, Missouri may be able to attract in substantial numbers companies which are anxious for cheap, non-union labor. But we seriously doubt that the state would derive much benefit from becoming a leading haven for the runaway sweatshop. The South needs new industry, true enough. But encourage sweatshops will hardly help raise the economic level of the South.

THE MORAL QUESTION

IN her article on Europe and the atom bomb recently published in this magazine (Sept. 17), Hannah Arendt argued that the development of nuclear weapons radically altered the whole institution of war and demanded radical rethinking on the question of war's morality. In the threat of *total* destruction, she said, "the alternative between liberty and death has lost its old plausibility."

The distinguished moral theologian, Father Francis J. Connell of the Catholic University of America, speaking recently on "The Catholic Hour," said some very important things which seem to us to support Dr. Arendt's view. From the moral standpoint, Father Connell argued, there is no essential difference between the A-bomb or H-bomb and the less destructive TNT bombs. Both types are lawful weapons in a just war, provided they are used in accordance with established rules of warfare.

But, the theologian continued, the difference lies in the fact that the force of these nuclear weapons is so tremendous and so far-reaching that they are likely to kill thousands of non-combatants far beyond the range of their target.

For this reason, Father Connell says, their use on an enemy's cities would ordinarily be immoral, even if the enemy had first attacked us and destroyed millions of our citizens.

Where does this leave us morally as we prepare for a modern war? We do not pretend to know, but the need for some radical thinking on this problem is clear, and Father Connell has started the process.

One thing is evident: no Christian can think of war in purely military terms. For him moral issues must always transcend and ultimately determine the use of power. And another thing is evident: for the Christian there are worse, much worse, things than losing a war, just as there are worse things than losing "the whole world."

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As the possibility of total annihilation grows greater, as we approach ever closer to the abyss, we may have to face, and answer, some terrible questions—as Christians and as Americans. Father Connell's statement suggests their complexity. This is a subject which we intend to consider at greater length in future issues.

NUCLEAR WAR II

THREE more matters of fact should be discussed in this second of an editorial series on atomic and hydrogen weapons before we move on to the insecure ground of speculation and grand strategy.

The first point of fact is this: The U.S. Air Force's Strategic Air Command has been given the mission of launching nuclear retaliation against any clear, overt Soviet act of war. The American government and public have agreed that if the Soviet Union were to make an atomic attack on the United States, upon one of our NATO allies, or upon Japan or Germany or possibly another friendly nation, the Strategic Air Command would instantly be ordered to carry out a planned group of atomic raids upon Soviet air bases, nuclear weapons facilities, and industrial and transportation centers in Russia.

If this kind of an attack on the West were to come, it probably would not be aimed at our centers of population and government, but agains the bases and shops of the SAC and against Western industry. This, of course, is the reason the SAC is widely dispersed and heavily defended in this country and in England, North Africa, Okinawa and certain other foreign locations.

But the eventuality of such an air attack seems, at present, unlikely. Here Dr. Oppenheimer's image of two scorpions in a bottle is accurate. A Soviet attack at the present time would almost surely fail to destroy enough of the SAC to prevent retaliation; and the retaliation, coming within hours of the attack, would leave Russia as crippled as the Soviet bombers would have left the industrial centers of the United States. In terms of the metaphor, two scorpions would have killed one another.

But the trouble comes in part from the very fact that the Soviets at present are not expected to make a laboratory-type air attack on the West. The trouble lies in determining at what point on the wide scale of aggression air-atomic retaliation can properly be invoked—if, indeed, it can properly be invoked at all.

But as the balance of nuclear power between Russia and the United States evens off, as it now is doing, and the damage possible through the use of nuclear weapons becomes so disproportionately great in comparison with any kind of defense now available, the temptation to launch a surprise attack will grow for the Soviets—as well as for the United States. We will come back to this point later.

The second point of fact is that the defense of Europe is organized around the use of nuclear weapons. The NATO strategy for holding off a Russian land invasion includes the use of tactical atomic weapons. Maneuvers have been based on the theoretical use of the A-bomb; NATO's tactical air arm is equipped to carry the weapon and probably is armed with it; the American NATO contingent includes batteries of eleven-inch guns which fire atomic ammunition. The NATO land strategy, to judge from what has been published, is to compel the attacking Russian armies to mass or to be channeled in such a way as to be vulnerable to the atomic weapon.

This strategy is the only practical method which has been available to NATO to offset the great Russian advantage in manpower.

The third point of fact is that the American superiority in nuclear weapons is shrinkin We and the Soviets both have hydrogen bombs and probably both have the capacity to build the cobalt bomb (a weapon so uncontrollably destructive that it almost certainly will not be built). The advantage we possess seems to be an engineering one: we can build more flexible, more refined weapons, and we can build them faster. Hence we have a much larger number of atomic weapons than the Soviets do, and we have them in a greater range of sizes and types. But once again there is a catch: the military value of a quantity of weapons is dependent upon the quantity of targets. If we have enough weapons to devastate every important target in Russia, then having three or four times that number of weapons is of marginal importance, except as they may be used tactically.

And the number of profitable nuclear targets in the United States is much smaller than in the Soviet Union, due to our industrial centralization. If the Soviets have enough weapons to destroy every one of these targets in the United States—as they certainly do—then the number of additional bombs in their possession is of marginal importance—except as they may be used tactically.

Only in the range and variety of tactical weapons is there today a measurable advantage on our side in the nuclear weapons race.

Next week we shall take up the nuclear weapon as deterrent in the cold war today.

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The Appeal of Existentialism

NOT SINCE WILLIAM JAMES AND BERGSON HAS PHILOSOPHY FOUND ITSELF SO SQUARELY PLANTED IN THE MARKETPLACE, SO GIFTED WITH THE POWER TO MOVE PEOPLE.

JAMES COLLINS

DURING the years 1945-49, readers of popular journals like *Life, Mademoiselle* and *The New York Times Magazine* were treated to feature stories about the lives and teachings of the leading existentialists. This is one of the few times in the history of American journalism that a school of philosophy was rated as top news. Jean-Paul Sartre had a novel published in New York and plays running simultaneously here and in Paris. Novels by Albert Camus and social studies by Simone de Beauvoir even now get featured reviews and have left their imprint upon the younger American artists and social scientists.

Since the heyday of William James' lectures to teachers' associations and Henri Bergson's talks before Parisian high society, philosophy has not found itself so squarely planted in the marketplace, so gifted with the power to move people. While it is true that during the past five years existentialism has ceased to be notorious, its popularity still remains very high in European intellectual and artistic circles and even with a wider audience. And the professional philosophers are slowly coming around to the view that this movement has to be taken seriously and given careful study.

In examining existentialism, it is perfectly legitimate to distinguish between the question of its intrinsic validity and that of its cultural significance. Only the latter aspect is at stake when we inquire about the reasons for its spectacular rise and spreading influence among all sorts of people. How did it take root so readily and extend its branches into all phases of life, especially in Germany, Italy and France? One difficulty in the way of a ready answer is that, in reality, there are just as many forms of existentialism as there are existentialist philosophers. Still, these several varieties do possess certain features in common, and precisely these common traits help us to understand why it arose.

There seem to be five basic reasons why existentialism has made such a rapid emergence during the past quarter-century. Doubtless, there are other contributory factors, but these will at least enable us to grasp its role and meaning in the present crisis of Western culture.

FOR one thing, all the existentialists prefer to use the descriptive method rather than the method of strict demonstration or logical inference. Heidegger and Sartre have a training in the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl, whose first canon was that the philosopher must make a careful survey and description of the facts surrounding any problem. Karl Jaspers is not a phenomenologist but has remained faithful to his laboratory training in chemistry and psychiatry which put a premium upon a direct and unprejudiced examination of the actual status of things, before erecting any hypotheses about them. And as for Gabriel Marcel, his long apprenticeship as a practicing playwright has taught him the value of building up one's total conception of a situation from the closely observed details of human life and action.

The deliberate use of descriptive techniques has reaped a double advantage for the existentialists. In a negative and polemical way, they have been able to undercut the case for other philosophies simply by suggesting that we should abandon the endless, futile squabbles over abstract definitions and make a return to the given facts of human existence. There is nothing quite so persuasive as a demand for a fresh start with the actual things of our experience. The various forms of idealism and logicism were left hanging in mid-air, once existentialism called for a fresh inspection of the very starting point of inquiry. And on the positive side, this appeal for a new beginning, on the basis of a faithful description of our immediate experience, fitted in nicely with the growing regard of twentieth-century man for descriptive approaches in all fields. The unparalleled popularity of biographies, sociological and political analysis, and scientific accounts of the world we live in, are indications of a general mood of openness to facts and the real conditions of existence. Existentialism is one more response to this mood—but with a difference: it tries to take

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account of facts without accepting the arbitrary limits of positivism and naturalism.

In the second place, then, the appeal of existentialism is traceable to the type of facts to which it makes a descriptive return. Many people think that this philosophy is essentially antagonistic toward scientific methods and outlooks, but such is not the case. A good portion of the writings of Jaspers is devoted precisely to this issue. He has made it plain that existentialism makes a fundamental distinction between the scientific approaches as such and the efforts of philosophical scientism to limit reality to what is reported by the positive sciences. The real quarrel lies between existentialism and scientistic naturalism. The former philosophy defends the distinctive and irreducible nature of human existence and its general traits. There is a humane area of facts which cannot be reduced to the rest of nature either in its own content or in the method of dealing with this content.

Existentialism thus supports the ordinary conviction that the concrete, personal existence of man has a unique structure of its own and furnishes a new level of finite reality. For the first time since the rise of Comte's positivism, philosophy is regarded as something other and more than a summation of the sciences or their generalized theory. It is permitted to recognize and deal characteristically with whole areas of facts which had been banished by naturalism or despised by idealism. Coming just at the beginning of an era when men were beginning to realize that the scientific methods are not ultimate and must be regulated by considerations of human dignity, existentialism holds out a hope for an intelligent settlement of the crucial issue of scientific integrity and human values. Even when we find its particular solutions unacceptable, we can recognize its sound defense of the distinctive character of human nature and philosophical inquiry.

As a third ground for the growth of existentialism, we can specify certain groups of facts which had been previously ignored but which have assumed tremendous importance in our time. There have been very careful and nuanced existential analyses of man's anguished dread before his nothingness and his exercise of freedom, the pervasiveness of our awareness of death, the uncertainties of moral decision, and the conflict between individual and society, lover and beloved. For this reason, existentialism is often called a gloomy or pessimistic philosophy, but in our age of anxiety (as W. H. Auden properly names it) a concern about these facts is nothing more than sheer faithfulness to the data of our historical situation. Analyses of this sort are embarrassing to the older sort of progressive positivism and to partisans of well-regimented social utopias. But in reflective men, they strike a kindred note and bring out into the open the central problems.

OF all these tensions, that between the person and society has received the most attention. Usually, the existentialists are represented as being unqualified individualists, but this charge is based more on Marxian polemics than a reading of the authors in question. For, as Herbert Spiegelberg has noted in a recent issue of *The Kenyon Review,* the one fact we cannot gainsay is that the existentialists have come solidly to grips with the problems of social existence in the modern world. One may not approve of Sartre's despair over social relations or Camus' titanism, but they do throw light upon some important contemporary social attitudes. In their social analyses, Jaspers and Marcel have focused upon three other features of society: its actual anonymity, its potential reserve for developing personality, and its terrible need for mutual good faith. Little wonder that existentialism should take root and prosper, when it has the courage to take as the themes for rigorous philosophical reflection precisely the actualities of Western culture today.

This leads at once to a fourth consideration, based on the way in which personal moods and social problems are handled. Because the existentialists employ a patient descriptive method, and because they draw content from concrete facts of human existence, their books are dramatic and compelling.

For instance, Heidegger and Marcel and Jaspers develop the theme of the anonymity of social life by frequent reference to familiar instances. They point to the pitiful way in which a doorman or a ticket-taker submerges his personality behind his uniform and finds his worth in life mainly in his function. Or they call attention to the crushing force of mass opinion, the dictates of the business corporation, and the subtle appeal to what everyone is saying or drinking or wearing. This concrete moral approach is not only readily intelligible to a wide audience of non-philosophers but has a special affinity with the arts. Marcel himself is a dramatist; Sartre is both playwright and novelist; Heidegger has written some pages of sensitive literary criticism, and so has Jaspers. Their thought readily lends itself to embodiment under the various art forms. This enables its message to spread far beyond professional circles. With them, philosophy again becomes a personal activity in which every man can share. The artful dialogue set up between the philosopher and the reader is the first step toward bringing philosophy back from the land of technical specialities to the common soil of everyday living and thinking and choosing.

Finally, the existentialists challenge men about a question which had for long been overgrown with specialization: the problem of being. They have the audacity to maintain that metaphysics is not a futile discipline and not wholly without basis in our world of experience. Here again, despite their divergent

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individual solutions, they have struck the common subsoil of mankind. The whole trend of their descriptive findings is to show that the natural world is richer than the physical hypotheses about it and that man is more complex than the psychological and psychiatric hypotheses about him. It is with this elusive plus-factor, this "more" of our existence, that metaphysics is concerned. If philosophy is to be truly radical and regard nothing as unimportant, then it must ask the simplest and profoundest question of all: why does man exist and the world have being, rather than nothing at all? To bring modern man face to face with this question is the great service of existentialism. And modern man sees that there is sense in raising this issue. For, in a way, it has forced itself upon him at every turn of the road. He is starting to become accustomed to recognizing his own contingency and that of all his tools and creations. Existentialism has only made him face the question formally and relentlessly. That is the secret of its fascination: it is not a nihilism but it does bring us up sharply against the imminence of nothingness and the need for fullness of being.

GIVEN these advantages, why has existentialism not made better headway in America? One reason is simply that we have not had much first-hand acquaintance with it, aside from the unpromising views of Sartre. But even if the other varieties of existentialism were fully known here, I think that it would still fall short of general acceptance. The reason does not lie solely in the closer proximity of European man to terror and annihilation, although this is a consideration. The chief explanation seems to be that existentialism is not a complete and fully rounded philosophy. It makes a superb defense of human freedom against both Marxian and Freudian determinism, but it falls short in two major respects.

First, it has not integrated itself closely enough with empirical findings, and next, it has not developed an adequate metaphysics. These criticisms are not equivalent to saying that it is anti-scientific or anti-metaphysical. On the contrary, existentialism is careful to distinguish between scientific methods and scientistic naturalism, as well as to explore the region for metaphysics. But its main interest is with the actual description of man through interior reflection. It needs to be supplemented, on the one hand by the scientific approaches to the world and man, and on the other by a thorough analysis of the implications of contingent being, culminating in a doctrine on God.

Such a synthesis of disciplines is not visionary but is within our reach. The points of contact and interpenetration are already being prepared on the side of science and realistic metaphysics. We in America will probably benefit most not by adopting any form of existentialism *en bloc* but rather by appropriating the insights of existentialism within our own scientific and philosophical contexts. Yet we cannot allow its distinctive contribution to disappear in the process or be watered down. The existentialists are primarily moralists of a strenuous breed. Theirs is the salutary warning that knowledge is not everything for man, that it only heightens the need for mature choice and a responsible use of freedom.

IS A CURE POSSIBLE?

Our Sick Coal Industry

JOHN BROPHY

RIGHT now unemployment is widespread and human needs acute in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania. Recently the *Mine Workers Journal* printed a picture of a massive outdoor turnout of thousands of miners and their families at St. Anne's Church in Scranton. The occasion for this gathering was the concluding service of nine days of public prayer for relief from the impoverishing condition that exists today in the coal region. Only once before in the history of the region has such a demonstration taken place, a fact which gives an indication of how hard-hit the region is.

For these people and for the miners throughout the coal industry, the social teachings of the Church give the answer to their prayers: "To join prayer with action." Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* committed the Church to a constructive social ideal and a course of action. The great Leo rested his case on Labor's right to a living wage. This encyclical taught the principle that a truly human social order can be built, and must be built, if we are to avoid atheistic Communism or other forms of totalitarianism. Forty

Mr. Brophy is a national official of the CIO.

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years later Pope Pius XI also directed attention to the need to improve the lot of the worker and stressed the need for reconstruction of the social order in a fundamental way.

In recent months the press has been replete with news of the crisis in coal. Shutdowns and slack work are widespread and continuous throughout the bituminous as well as the anthracite fields. Unemployment compensation and distribution of government surplus food products among the needy victims may alleviate some of the distress, but they hardly meet the requirements of the miner and his family.

What is wrong with coal? Why do recurrent crises plague the industry? Now, again, unemployment, distress and poverty afflict all too many of the miners and their families. The miners suffer needlessly because the industry is disorganized and mismanaged by the old game of speculative profits, over-production, shortages, high prices. Present planning is now too limited, spotty and irregular to bring about order and stability in the industry.

From the standpoint of production, a few figures tell the story. In 1948 soft coal broke all records with an output of 631 million tons. By 1954 the rate of production had fallen to something less than 400 million tons. Employment had fallen from 442,000 in 1948 to 215,000 in 1954. To illustrate this decline in regional terms, a central Pennsylvania bituminous district in 1948 had 36,000 union miners employed. Today there are only about 15,000, nearly all on short-time. More than 20 per cent of the coal produced is non-union, drawn mainly from stripping operations. A full application of power machinery in this type of mining operation requires few men to operate it. The result is low cost, and when non-union, an avoidance of the 40 cents per ton royalty payment to the miners' welfare fund.

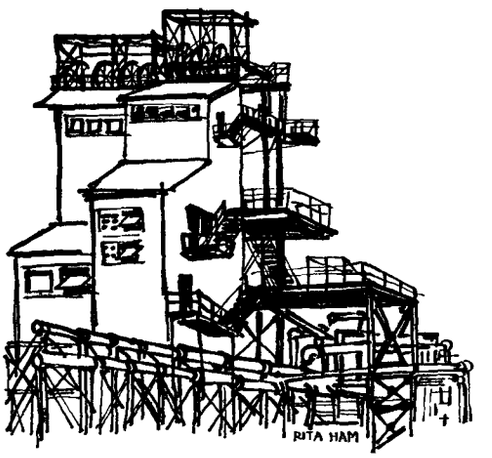
There is a wide disparity in the cost of operation of various types of mining. Some of it is due to geologic conditions in which the coal seams lay; or it may be caused by inadequate engineering and mechanization.

Technology is forcing its own pattern on the industry. Concentration of output is necessary to use fully the new machines of coal production, and to justify their large initial cost. Continuous operation is necessary if the economies of machine production are to be fully attained. This development is evident in the fact that 80 per cent of the coal output is produced by 300 companies. The remaining 20 per cent is divided among some 6000 companies.

The miners' average per capita production has steadily risen from 5 tons per day in 1945 to 8 tons per day in 1954. There has been an increase in the miners' working time at the coal face, travel time being reduced by the sinking of openings nearer to the mine workings. Output per man rises, the work shift lengthens, unemployment or under-employment grows. Despite the increase in the miner's wage rates, his earnings have been undercut by the general anarchy in the industry—his plight is desperate.

The coal market has been contracted by improved methods in utilization of coal—more units of heat and power are being extracted per pound of coal than formerly. The use of the diesel locomotive has cut the use of coal 100 million tons on the railroads. The convenience of fuel oil and gas in heating homes and offices has displaced 60 million tons a year. Hydroelectric power has contributed to this decline as well. The sale of the United States coal to Europe has, since the war, fallen from a peak of 36 million tons to less than five million tons, and will continue to decline as European mining conditions improve.

In the face of such conditions in the industry, the Miners Union has had to forego its annual demand for higher wages. Within the past few weeks the Union has joined with the operators in a series of desperate appeals for government assistance for the coal industry.



President Eisenhower has appointed a special committee to consider what can be done to lift coal out of its present depression. Cutting imports of fuel oil and gas, as is being requested, has distinct limitations. Reduction of railroad freight rates on coal is fraught with great difficulty. Reduction of taxes on coal lands and greater depletion credit might help some, but everybody wants a tax reduction, general and special—hardly a promising field in face of the competition for such favors. The granting of all these requests would help in some degree, and the President's new program for purchasing 10 million tons of coal for overseas distribution will certainly improve the situation, but assuredly not enough to meet the needs of the industry and put it on a sound basis.

Some say the coal industry is entitled to a government subsidy, and suggest a dollar a ton. But outside of three or four coal states, the industry is too weak to win such suggested special legislation. These proposals are the negative approach.

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Union leaders privately suggest that the miners may have to tighten their belts until such time as cutbacks in the use of oil take place, and the new dam construction for hydroelectric development slows down. In a few years, they say, the growing power needs of the economy will create a need for more coal. Some refuse to face the real possibility that during the next decade, even if there is no expansion in hydroelectric development and a decline in the use of residual oil, atomic energy may more than meet the nation's increasing demands for power.

THE basic market minimum for coal, under present conditions, is approximately 400 million tons annually. The industry should be organized and manned on that basis.

The basic need is a long-range program that would bring stability to coal. Unification of the industry and intelligent planning, with a pooling of costs and profits, would level out many of the variables which make for great extremes in operating costs. But any plan of this kind must fulfill such long-term miners' desires as: a six-hour work day, a guaranteed annual wage, adequate safety measures, and an assurance of adequate funds for retirement and welfare services.

The miner, through his union, should have a voice in the operation of the industry on its various levels. A share in the actual administration of the industry to which the miner gives his life and labor should improve its operation. The miners' goodwill and intelligence, thus encouraged, should prove an asset. Coal should be run democratically by management, by the people who mine it, who apply their scientific knowledge to its problems, who transport it, who sell it and who use it. Government would also play its part in conserving the public interest in this arrangement. All three elements would thus cooperate for the good of the industry, the public and the miner.

Mining communities would have the benefit of living with a stable industry. The housing, education, recreation and cultural facilities could be improved, social well-being could be more fully achieved.

The suggested cooperative program for better planning and management of coal is really the Industry Council Plan. Self-government by industries as envisaged in the Plan is not just top level government. Democratic planning is not authoritative or militaristic, which would be the case if all planning and direction was restricted to the top. This plan requires a recognition of the trustee character of ownership. It is a cooperative partnership of management and union.

The late Philip Murray, a former Vice President of the United Mine Workers of America, delivered a speech at the 1951 CIO convention which has a real bearing on this problem. He said:

"Now in the midst of this year of so-called plenty, there does not seem to be too much attention paid to the question of industry councils, but the plan is so important and one that I believe to be so essential that it requires the constant attention of all public-spirited citizens.

"I do not think it is the type of a plan that we can lightly cast aside, because some day in the not too distant future, unless some comprehensive plan is undertaken within the framework of our industry in the United States, we may find ourselves confronted with the pendulum swinging in the opposite direction and no well-conceived plans under way to provide full employment for the countless thousands of people who may be required to walk the streets."

Mr. Murray's prophecy has already come true in coal, as in some other fields.

This proposal may seem like a long-term program to deal with the recurrent crises in coal. It is that. It is only by such a program of service to the people that the industry, the union and its members can win reasonable security, the public be benefited, and the chaos in coal be overcome.

Will the owners accept such a cooperative trustee relationship? Not many of them, I fear, in the political climate of today. But unless they do, and if the present plight of coal continues because of the shortsightedness of vested interests, it is my opinion that the miners and the general public will have no alternative but to work for public ownership of the coal industry.

TWO APPEALS

Mother M. Laurentine, Superior of the Ursuline Convent, Samtoli, P.O. Simdega, Ranchi Dt., Bihar, India, asks for funds to build a new convent. The present house has only four small rooms for a community of eight, so that some of the nuns have to sleep in the classroom of the orphanage. The community has no chapel. Because of recent floods in North India the community is besieged for alms. "Many of those [seeking our aid] are blind, lame or too weak to work, being widows with little ones who are so weak that they cannot cry but only wail plaintively and hold out their bony hands. It is heartbreaking to see them and to refuse them is harder still."

From South India, Mother Alberta of the Holy Ghost, St. Joseph's Convent, Mandya, Mysore State, appeals for the "half-naked, half-starved children of all castes and creeds" sheltered in her Carmelite orphanage. Besides what is needed for food and clothing the community must enlarge its school building so as to be able to give instruction that will eventually equip these destitute children to earn their own living. Contributions for these two destinations may be sent in the form of checks or money orders. (Airmail postage to India is twenty-five cents.)

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CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS

In Search of A Program

Cardiff

SENATOR Houben, of the Christian Social Party of Belgium, is by way of becoming the Christian Democratic parties' lay confessor. Two years ago, at the annual conference of the Union of Christian Democrats at Fribourg, he led them through a general examination of conscience with a skill which any parish priest might envy. At Bruges this summer he took them—helped by a German Protestant colleague, Dr. Strickrodt—through a similar but narrower examination of things done and not done in the field of economic and social policy. There have been many new ideas and much new experience since 1952. But the new examination still leads to much the same result as the old.

Christian Democracy—I mean the whole movement, including the trade unions and other social organizations, not only the political parties—has known two great waves of development. Over the sixty years or so from the end of the war with Napoleon down to the eighteen seventies or early eighties, the achievement of social Christianity was simply to survive. Gradually, painfully, and very uncertainly, among Protestants as well as Catholics, it became clear that Christians were not merely liberals, conservatives, or socialists, but had *as Christians* something distinctive to say in the modern world. The pioneers of those days were neither united nor even clear in their own minds about what this Christian message was. But they knew, or came to know, after many battles among themselves, some things that it was not. And step by step they marked themselves off from those who set up as the ultimate standard of society the State, the Empire, the Nation, the General Will, Monarchy, Democracy, the Class War, the Laws of Economics, and any other graven images of that kind.

Their successors set out from this position and proceeded over the next two generations—that is down to the 1940's—to build the vast structure of Christian Democratic organization as we know it today. Existing parties and groups, particularly some of the older confessional and conservative parties, were transformed from within. New organizations sprang up. New classes were drawn into the battle, notably the Christian sections of the working class. The great task of re-stating Christian social doctrine in a form adapted to modern problems was undertaken by men such as in the first generation Pesch, or in the second Maritain, and was promoted and crowned by the social encyclicals.

What is following today is the transition from building organizations to using them, from principles to techniques. The two previous stages were each of them spread over a lifetime, and the progress reports at the Bruges Congress show that this new stage is so far proceeding at about the same pace. There is agreement on principles, inherited from the last stage, but only occasionally as yet on the more technical details of practice. "Liberalism" and "socialism," for instance, so everyone in the Christian Democratic world agrees, are neither of them sufficient. But prod a little deeper, ask some precise questions about whether the right level of inheritance tax on a millionaire's fortune is ten per cent, fifty per cent, or ninety per cent, or exactly when and for what purposes a government can rightly control investment, and you find vast divergences within and between the various parties. All the parties support what the Congress manifesto calls "productive communities," meaning such things as industry councils and workers' consultation and control. But only one or two parties know clearly even what they themselves mean by these things, let alone agreeing about them with anyone else. And in some fields of major importance, though piecemeal action is going on, there seems as yet to be little organized or comprehensive thought in any party at all.

All the parties represented at Bruges have, as every modern political party must have, policies for housing, or health, or nutrition, for subsidies to the arts, to adult education, or to youth movements, for suppressing drink and maintaining public morality; and they make a quite special point of their support for the family and for family movements. But when a delegate in the Economic Committee of the Congress suggested that all this should be tied up in terms of a comprehensive view of what is meant by a Christian style of life, and of the relative contribution of the State, individuals, families and organized social movements towards achieving it—in short, of a severe policy for consumption and leisure—his colleagues looked blank and passed to the next business.

UP to a point, of course, there is nothing in this state of affairs to criticize. No one in his senses will expect the Christian Democrats to borrow, invent, and consolidate into a generally agreed body of doctrine, all within a year or two, the whole mass of economic and social techniques needed to implement their principles. This process is going to take fifty years, and it is no use expecting all the answers

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in the first five. If meantime French Christian Democrats like to press for more positive State action to crack the crust of stagnation in their country's economy, whereas their German opposite numbers follow Lenin's example and revive a war-shattered economy by letting free enterprise rip, and the Dutch quietly pursue a middle path of Statutory Industry Councils—there need be no harm in that, and may be much advantage. Each country is tackling the problems most urgent to it by the means which seem, and very probably are, most applicable. Experience gradually builds up. Under the skilful prodding of Senator Houben and his colleagues it may be expected to consolidate gradually into a social technology agreed among all the Christian Democratic groups; just as, within the last sixty or seventy years, a body of agreed Christian social principles has emerged from the often impassioned debates between integrists and modernists, democrats and monarchists, liberals, corporatists "religious socialists," Archbishop Temple and Karl Barth.

But there is one point where this natural evolution and rather too easy optimism will not do. Being met together, the Christian Democrats at Bruges naturally devoted a day to discussing what was to follow the refusal of the French Chamber to discuss EDC. All agreed that a united Europe remains the best and even perhaps the most attainable objective for the near as well as for the remote future, and that the various elements of this idea hang together. To defend Europe against Communism, to reconcile France and Germany, to expand production and social opportunity, is one indivisible purpose, failure in any part of which will seriously prejudice the rest. And to achieve this purpose, all likewise continued to agree, requires in Europe a common, directly-elected Assembly and an executive authority responsible to it. No part of this ideal, least of all the economic and social part, could be passed over or treated as if it were of secondary importance.

BUT if there is to be an economically united Europe, there must be to some extent at least not merely a policy of the French Christian Democrats, or of the Belgians, the Dutch, or the Swiss, but an all-European policy upon which all these parties are agreed. And here two tendencies were apparent at Bruges. The first was for divergences to gape so widely, particularly between the French at one end and the Germans at the other, as to make only a bare minimum of common policy possible. In the declarations which finally emerged from the Congress it was possible to agree only on the need to free the exchanges and the circulation of goods, services, and capital, with a couple of vague phrases about "harmonizing" tax and social insurance schedules, and about "all other appropriate measures." Attempts were made to get some concrete agreement about the reconversion of firms, the re-employment of displaced workers, and the variety of other human and economic problems which have called for State or international control, or for measures of organized self-help by industries and towns, in connection with the Coal-Steel Community or the British Development Areas. But though there are plenty of ideas in the Christian Democratic world about these things, the gaps on policy proved too wide to be bridged. They were indeed much wider and more apparent at Bruges than among the Christian Democratic delegates at the Economic Conference at Westminster last spring.

And secondly, following from this, there was a tendency to put off any decision on these matters until the problems were actually forced to the front through the creation of a European community. As a British observer, I could not help remembering that Mr.

Emmanuel Shinwell, Minister of Mines in the late Labor Government, took exactly this line about the social and administrative problems likely to arise out of nationalization; and a large part of the difficulty of management and industrial relations in mining in recent years can be traced to that source.

If the Christian Democrats propose, as they do, to be the main force behind a new drive to build Europe, they cannot afford to appear weak or unconvincing on any front. And how can they expect to appear anything else when they come before us, in this very urgent matter, with no policy apart from hoping, with Mr. Shinwell, that something will turn up? The Union of Christian Democrats proposes to continue its study of economic and social policy through sub-committees during the next year. Let us hope that in its choice of subjects for examination it will put the priority in the right place.

MICHAEL P. FOGARTY.

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THE STAGE

DEAR CHARLES

PROCEEDING down the alphabetic arcade of meteorology, we arrive at a point of absolute frenzy: Hurricane Tallulah. Miss Bankhead's climatic affinities have, of course, previously been noted; indeed, this actress is chiefly accessible in the language of barometry—in terms of low pressure areas and cold fronts, of high winds mounting to gale force, and storm warnings for all small craft between Block Island and Cape Hatteras. In her present exhibition, however, Miss Bankhead is oppressed by a large and flatulent cloud of platitude. "Dear Charles" is an exemplary specimen of that kind of play which, in another time, was capable of provoking Henry James to such a plenitude of august and magisterial dismay. A Gallic farce of small morals and less wit, it was diluted into basic English by Mr. Alan Melville, and then exposed to a series of theatrical hurdles, none of which, sadly, proved fatal. Miss Bankhead and her complaisant cast pluck its impoverished skeleton of whatever comic meat they will, but the evening's meal has scarce begun before we hear the shrill rasp of theatrical knife upon dry dramatic bone.

Boredom, then, lies concealed beneath the garnishings of Mr. Donald Oenslager's opulent (it had better be) set, but there is, of course, Tallulah, with whom all losses are restored and sorrows end. How describe the curious blend of paradox which is her quality: the slothful, languorous vitality, the vulgar, ravening delicacy? She is a personality in the widest sense of that abused and narrow term; she has, that is, made a commodity of her personal relations with the world, and it is a sign of her unquenchable authority that she so successfully imposes the facts of that relation (often a coarse and self-indulgent one) upon us. There can be no question, with Miss Bankhead, of doing what other actresses have done, of entering into a comparative competition with time for the histrionic palm. She is her own outrageous original; in the last analysis, she acts, exposes, reveals, caricatures only herself. This seems to me to place her outside the realm of dramatic art, but certainly within that of theater, perhaps at its very heart. It is impossible to conceive of her without an audience, yet no performer has ever seemed to require less the stimulus of one. Her charm for the student of contemporary manners lies in the poised and intense image she presents of a trapped modern sensibility. An outside personality stalks the world with that predatory lurch; a tender, vulnerable, questing heart flutters beneath the camouflage of the imperious growl. Her travail is that of all caged and dispossessed natural sovereigns who must suffer reality gladly, but Miss Bankhead does not quietly submit: splendidly, venomously, her head thrust between the bars, she spits in its eye.

Here, then, whatever the vicissitudes of age and time, is Tallulah plain, who speaks, in "Dear Charles," perhaps her own most potent epitaph when she coldly remarks: "Somehow, Ah was never very easy to forget." (*At the Morosco.*)

RICHARD HAYES.

THE SCREEN

IF THE SLIPPER FITS

THERE are two modern Cinderella stories on the docket this week and they are as different as day from night. The first, "Sabrina," makes no pretense about being anything more than a frankly playful once-upon-a-time. It tells a fanciful tale of a chauffeur's daughter on an estate so large and rich and well ordered that it is as close to heaven as anyone could get on Long Island. The girl, played with glow and charm by Audrey Hepburn, is desperately in love with the rich family's younger son, so her father hustles her off to cooking school in Paris. She returns after two years a slick chick with no great aptitude for cooking but with quite a flair for attracting men. She's still determined, however, to win the young playboy. But equally determined is the rich family's older son to have the younger marry an heiress. So in order to divert Sabrina, the older brother dates her—and inevitably he becomes in Sabrina's eye a prince, perhaps not as charming as the younger brother, but much richer and wiser.

Producer-director Billy Wilder has decorated this slight tale elaborately, perhaps almost too slickly for such an obvious story. But the picture is always pretty to look at and is frequently amusing to see and hear. Those who saw Samuel Taylor's play, "Sabrina Fair," which came out at the same time the movie was being made, will be disappointed to find that some of the play's funnier lines are missing. The movie seems to take itself just a touch more seriously, especially for characterizations that don't bear too close scrutiny. William Holden plays the younger brother well, but we know right from the start that this thrice-married playboy hasn't a chance at winning the fair Sabrina. The picture's biggest and most pleasant surprise is Humphrey Bogart's skillful portrayal of the older brother who changes from a Wall Street stuffed shirt into a human being who finally knows a good mate when he sees one.

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HUMPHREY BOGART also gives a good performance in this week's other Cinderella story: "The Barefoot Contessa," which is as difficult a film to review as any I have ever had to tackle. It is such a curious conglomeration of brilliant dialogue, cheap melodramatics, clever characterization, fine acting, handsome sets in Technicolor, witty satire and unusual subject matter that it's no wonder the picture as a whole doesn't add up to more. Perhaps the greatest disappointment in connection with "The Barefoot Contessa" comes from the fact that it was written and directed by Joseph L. Mankiewicz whose "Julius Caesar," "Five Fingers," "All about Eve" and other Hollywood pictures led one to believe he would hit a new high in this film, his first independent production.

In telling the story of the rise and fall of a movie star (who could best be described as a nymphomaniac —although this is not entirely accurate) Mankiewicz manages to land some well-placed blows on Hollywood and the kind of society that prevails there. Then in continuing the story of this woman who is always searching for security as she drifts from man to man, Mankiewicz continues to tell off other societies in other places: the international set on the Riviera and a noble Italian family gone to seed. No matter how true or startling may be the comments made and revealed in flashbacks during the funeral services of Maria Vargas, a movie needs some positive values or its audiences may get lost in a welter of cynicism.

What "The Barefoot Contessa" needs is at least one character with whom you can identify yourself. Perhaps the closest to this is the motion picture director played by Bogart. It is he who persuades Maria (Ava Gardner) to work for a producer (Warren Stevens) who has so much money he owns half of Texas and is now about to grab off half of California. The portraits of this producer, his press agent (Edmond O'Brien), and a South American billionaire (Marius Goring) are drawn in acid. But the picture saves its biggest shocker for the last. Maria, a sort of Cinderella lost in a morass of fears, finds her Prince Charming—an Italian count (Rossano Brazzi) who marries her in a beautifully photographed ceremony and, after the gala wedding party, comes to the bridal chamber to announce he is impotent.

By this time Mankiewicz has got himself so deep into complex plot and problems, he cannot find his way out. He might, however, have saved himself some grief if when he decided to get involved in Catholic matters in a Catholic country, he had consulted a Catholic advisor. The funeral scene, the wedding and indeed the count's behavior require more explanation than the film gives, and they add more confusion to a film that is already startlingly cynical and casual about morals. If Mankiewicz' purpose was to make a pretentious and handsome shocker, he has certainly succeeded.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

COMMUNICATIONS

"SCIENCE AND SECURITY"

Omaha, Neb.

TO the Editors: James Bernard Kelley brings up several points in his article, "Science and Security" [Aug. 27], that I think should be commented on.

As far as security itself is concerned, Mr. Kelley rightly points out that its criteria change with time as the whole concept of national security changes, and yet he seems to decry the very obvious results of this situation, i.e. that a security clearance by its very nature must be continually subject to review. It is one thing to condemn abuses of the system, but I'm sure Mr. Kelley would be even more unhappy with a system in which clearances were not subject to review. Incidentally, the accusation that a person of lesser position or fame than Oppenheimer might have his clearance withdrawn without explanation is simply untrue. I have personally known of people with considerably lesser fame who have had clearances revoked, examined and then reinstated, with reasons given.

The other major point concerns Mr. Kelley's question, "Is the United States a safer place to live in now that Dr. Oppenheimer has had his clearance taken away from him?" This is, perhaps, the key question of the whole Oppenheimer proceedings, and I think that if Mr. Kelley had taken the trouble to read through the whole transcript of testimony he might not have phrased it as a rhetorical question. The answer to the question was clearly given by Teller in his testimony, that he would be much happier if the guidance of national scientific policy was out of Oppenheimer's hands. This is the sum and substance of the real case against Oppenheimer, and not the foolish accusations that he was a Russian agent.

The national security of this country, or any country, is today a complex blend of military, political, and scientific judgment. It is naive to claim that the scientist gives only scientific advice which may or may not be followed by military and political leaders as they see fit. The truth of the matter is that the scientist is inextricably involved in matters which are not directly his concern, and yet in which he has a real responsibility because whatever he says or does carries considerable weight, and an aura of scientific objectivity which it may not possess. That the scientist did not ask to be put in this position is irrelevant; he is there and must accept it. Now as far as Oppen-

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heimer is concerned, it is clear that he did use his very great scientific influence in many matters not his concern; in fact the record is uncomfortably clear on this point. Now if this influence is shown . . . to have been used in some ways which are best described as questionable, then is Oppenheimer to be excused of all responsibility because he is a scientist? I for one would prefer to see national policy being guided by people willing to accept responsibility for their actions without jumping into the Emperor's Clothes of scientific objectivity.

FRANCIS E. O'MEARA.

CHRISTIAN HOPE

Woodhaven, N. Y.

TO the Editors: In a criticism [Sept. 10] of a recent article on Mounier by Michael Harrington [Aug. 20], Mr. James Guinan takes issue with a position which recognizes the strong possibility of a historical dead-end, a blank-wall situation which admits of no practicable alternatives. This recognition, Mr. Guinan feels, militates against that "Christian psychology of hope," built on the tenet that "with Me you can do all things." In answer to Mr. Harrington's observation that there is no reasonable way to drop a hydrogen bomb on a city, Mr. Guinan objects that hydrogen bombs are in the hands of men who can freely decide what use to make of them.

This perspective as I see it stems from a misinterpretation of the theological point raised, that of the sufficiency of grace acting upon human reason.

The guarantee we have of sufficient grace regards that which is necessary to the salvation of individual souls, and not for the worldly salvation or preservation of human societies, cultures, or civilizations. This is not to say that it is not greatly desirable for Christianity to operate as a major motive force in history, but history obeys the dictates of the men and the peoples who form it, not an abstract ideal, however noble, which men have not chosen to activate. And herein lies the tragedy of the modern historical situation, a bleak situation which owes its character to the combination of the progress of blind forces of destruction and exploitation, and the non-operation of the Christian ideal in history. It is indeed a beautiful truth that "with Me you can do all things," but a society does not find itself with Him as of a moment and out of a vacuum.

To recognize this fact is not "passivity in the face of evil"—on the contrary, such recognition demands the courage to live out the ideal in society without the opiate of unfounded expectations, expectations to which the lessons of history deny us the right.

It is of course true that bombs are dropped on cities after the decisions of men, but this was equally true at Hamburg, London and Hiroshima, and we can see no sign of reversal of these patterns today, short of some miracle of change which would permeate the soul of human society. And it would seem that the sentiment which waits upon such miracle is less a spirit of hope than a pious wish.

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"UN AS A FORUM"

West Somerville, Mass.

TO the Editors: Your editorial "The UN as a Forum" in the August 27 issue begs the question. As one who is tired of hearing, as he heard in the 30's, the constant recitals of the merits of the UN and the League agencies, I'm moved to protest.

This is no argument against those agencies, most of which I support. But they don't need the UN, they functioned well, even during the war, under the otherwise decrepit League; in fact I doubt that they would disappear if the political functions of the UN were abandoned. They're too obviously necessary. . . .

The question you beg is that the UN, as the League, was founded, primarily, to make war as close to impossible as could be achieved. You don't answer the objection that it failed to do that by showing that it has achieved something else.

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What saddens me is that neither you, nor anyone else I read these days, will honestly say—"The UN cannot prevent war, let's try to find some way to do so." That, and in the face of atomic and hydrogen warfare, that alone is *the* question mankind must face and answer and soon.

Because that is the question, I disagree when you say, "From any conceivable angle it is to the interest of our country to build up the United Nations." It is not to our interest if that "build up" diverts us from answering the primary problem of preventing war.

I am one of those who believe that "international cooperation" in the matter of preventing war is a myth—that nations, not being people, don't cooperate and that the personal cooperation of individuals is not enough to turn back the historic trends that lead to war. But I do believe that individuals, by their actions, put and keep that trend in motion.

To put it another way. Aside from all the various causes of war, the primary cause is the ability of nations to wage war and their political power to do so. The causes of war often exist within nations and war seldom follows. (The American Civil War is the noteworthy exception that proves the rule.) Most internal wars are revolutions against authority, not State against State, and these are less potent, and less likely to cause the wholesale destruction wars cause because the participants don't command the weapons of country-vs.-country struggles.

In short the only way I know to prevent war is to end the independent existence of countries in external matters and erect, in their stead, government. Not, mark you, a forum representing State departments and foreign offices—a multi-lateral treaty dependent solely on the goodwill of the participants—but a government elected by individuals and responsible to and for individuals.

If you want to answer the primary question of our time you should talk about changing the UN into such a government, or, in view of the apparent impossibility of that as a direct step, talk about building a government of every country willing to enter as something separate and apart from the UN. If you will ask this country to, in turn, ask the world to join in a convention to develop such a government you might be giving us the "moral" and practical and dynamic answer you have often asked the present Administration to produce. Certainly that kind of statement from our government would, more than any other, illustrate that we are more interested in peace *per se* than in peace as a weapon against Communism.

Before you throw this hastily away, check the arguments running through your mind against those advanced against the Federalists who built our Federal Constitution. You may find them repetitive. . . .

WILLIAM H. WELLS.

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Examining the Practical Basis for Foreign Affairs

THE REALITIES OF FOREIGN POLICY. By George F. Kennan. Princeton. $2.75.

By GEORGE W. JAEGER

IN his moving address to the Radcliffe seniors, George Kennan spoke pensively of retired public officials as a "gloomy race. . . , who follow the course of public events with . . . anxious and paternal apprehension." Whatever the penalties of leaving the arena of responsibility may be, Mr. Kennan has at least found the opportunity to reflect at leisure on the causes of our mounting problems. His Stafford Lectures, now published as *The Realities of American Foreign Policy,* set forth an outline of his conclusions, as well as much wise counsel for America's future conduct. They are essays informed by scholarship and sensitive insights into the dynamics of power relationships, acquired in the course of a quarter of a century in the foreign service of this country.

Mr. Kennan begins by sketching the history of American diplomacy to show how the acute sensitivity of the founding fathers to the realities of power relationships faded from consciousness as the territorial and political needs of our country were gradually met. Safe from intruders behind the shield of a great ocean and the British Navy we could view the world with complacency and were free to indulge in increasingly romantic admiration of the simple virtues and constitutional arrangements which, so it seemed, had led to such rewards.

It was only natural that American diplomacy should frequently reflect these views and devote itself to the cultivation of "the American dream." Treaties of arbitration and conciliation, attempts to arrive at multilateral arrangements for disarmament, the Kellogg pact, and other well-intentioned schemes were the expressions of our confidence in the efficacy of legal solutions, inspired by humanitarian faith, to solve international problems.

The sweeping failure of these efforts, due to the fact that legal arrangements in international affairs function only when there is a genuine concord of interest among the sovereign powers involved, was not their only disadvantage. Their evil lay more importantly in the fact that "these enthusiasms distracted our gaze from the real things that were happening." And so the shock of world wars, which, Mr. Kennan points out, failed to cure our optimistic predilections; and the even greater recent shock of finding that our former ally had become a monster, "sitting astride the resources of half the world, grinning inscrutably at us like some graven image."

Forced into recognition of the appalling difficulties into which these new situations had thrust us, we found almost overwhelming the temptation to cling to old "idealistic" methods in our relations with our friends, and to deal decisively, that is militarily, with our insufferable enemies. That good sense and much "realism" has by and large prevailed so far over our enthusiasts, who tire so quickly when their expectations are disappointed, as well as over the impatient advocates of preventive war, is somewhat obscured by Mr. Kennan's intense concern with the urgent forces in our country pressing for too simple, and so dangerous, solutions.

His call is therefore for more "realism" and less "moralism" and "legalism." In dealing with the free world, "that sane and rational one," he warns us not to attach excessive confidence to our efforts to "cultivate favor and be liked." Many of our friends, Mr. Kennan reminds us, are undergoing shattering social and technological revolutions and differ widely in the degree to which they have advanced along the path of civilization. Their governments have varying endowments of wisdom and competence and are motivated by complex and alien causes, which sometime preclude them from responding as we would wish.

To carve out of this tension-ridden world the "situations of strength" which can resist Communist challenges, requires that we reconcile ourselves to its inherent instability—and to the fact that the resolution of its problems involves the exercise of power and sometimes even of violence. Our task should be to "reduce the scope and dangerousness" of these conflicts and to avoid increasing them by unrealistic expectations and proposals. Our policies must be practical and specific: firm, "in order to bring other people to respect the seriousness of our purpose," and yet tractable, accommodating and decent to evoke the consent on which our success must rest.

Mr. Kennan's thesis concerning the USSR is based on his belief that "this problem cannot suitably be resolved by war," or by policies which challenge the Communist system so basically as to lead directly to it. For illegitimate governments cannot yield on basic issues without dangerous impairment to their authority. The consequence of miscalculated pressures are prohibitive.

Mr. Kennan does not preclude the possibility that Soviet power may someday recede from some of its present positions. But he argues that this can only happen gradually and "precisely in the event that Soviet power is not too drastically engaged in the process." This hope in the healing powers of periods of equilibrium and in the tendency of radical systems to evolve gradually into more legitimate and therefore less aggressive ones, is, of course, open to question. For much of the USSR's behavior reflects, as Mr. Kennan has himself pointed out, only a more dynamic continuation of traditional Russian ambitions, although Harrison Salisbury's recent series in the New York *Times* tends to support Mr. Kennan's suggestion that some changes are taking place in the USSR. We might also ask whether the continuing instability of large

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areas of the free world and the constant anxieties created by the advanced weapons race will not place additional impediments on this process.

However one may conclude, the course open to America remains the same. For better or worse we have no real choice but to place our first reliance on trying to create a strong free world; to deny the Communists the opportunity to exploit its tensions and divisions and to exert steady pressures in return. One of the prerequisites to doing that is to control our fears and jitters and to avoid actions and proposals, which, by alarming our allies, divide rather than unify our side.

The moral of Mr. Kennan's account is that we must be more "like gardeners than mechanics" in our approach to foreign affairs. We must avoid the temptation of relying exclusively on military policies, crucial as adequate defenses are. Our success will rest in large measure in the extent to which we can discipline ourselves, marshal our resources, become more responsive to the political, economic and social needs of others and, as importantly, face our dangers without losing confidence in ourselves.

This is wise counsel, whatever specific objections may be raised against this book. We may, for example, ask whether the general proposition of creating a strong free world need not be refined by the more specific ones of how and where? It is the conflict of views on these questions rather than on the general proposition, which gives rise to most of our difficult current problems. Or, we may wonder about Mr. Kennan's uncertainty concerning the position of Red China in the Communist system. For the present it surely is a powerful ally of Russia, whatever conjectures may be made about the future. We may also inquire about his greater emphasis on the strategic accessions of the Soviet Union, as against its massive technological development, which has had far-reaching effects on the balance of power. Again, his argument for greater official coordination of private American activities abroad, leaves fundamental constitutional and political questions unanswered. For this calls for a major yielding of freedom to the State; and we may well ask if such surrender is necessary at this time.

The most difficult point in Mr. Kennan's book is his position on the relevance of moral considerations to foreign affairs. He argues that they are a private matter, at best an attribute of national culture: necessary to personal "decency," but a dangerous intruder in the "practical" realm of foreign affairs. Let us look at the long history of idealistic measures, which claimed their justification on moral grounds, he says, and see how troublesome they have been.

This is a dangerous confusion. Self-righteous schemes are not necessarily moral. Morality is made necessary precisely because of the imperfection of this world, and must, to have any validity, be "realistic." That moral conduct may require the exercise of force and reject misplaced idealism is too well established in Western Christian thought to need elaboration. To divide it, as Mr. Kennan would, to posit a 'discreet individual,' who acts decently at home and pragmatically abroad, is to destroy it. For philosophical principles stand and fall on their general validity. If the bitter facts of foreign affairs exceed their limits, we had better be consistent and admit the sovereignty of the jungle.

But as it is, we need not do so. For moral conduct requires only that we behave responsibly to man and God in light of our best abilities, that we bear our burdens with patience, and that we practice self-control. That is a principle which Mr. Kennan can surely accept and which differs little from the practical advice he has set forth. For his arguments on that score are sound and moral. And the advice he gives should be heard seriously for its restraint and wisdom.

The Saga of a Fellow-Traveler

MOST LIKELY TO SUCCEED. By John Dos Passos. Prentice-Hall. $3.50.

By GEORGE D. MURPHY

TODAY'S literary scene suggests the disturbing image of a rot-struck Redwood grove: dying giants yawing and teetering. Critical shouts of, "Timber!", went up on every side after the publication of Hemingway's *Across the River and Into the Trees* and it occasioned both surprise and relief when the Master recovered with *The Old Man and the Sea.* Ever since *Intruder in the Dust,* the literary foresters have suspected that a didactic form of blight has made serious inroads upon Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County tap-root and the recent appearance of *A Fable* has considerably reinforced this diagnosis.

I imagine that these same foresters are, by this time, seriously debating the advisability of cutting John Dos Passos up into board feet. Dos Passos' latest offering is a novel called *Most Likely to Succeed;* it will be very surprising if it does.

Most Likely to Succeed is another variation on the Hollywood Story, with political overtones to vary the theme of romantic, spiritual attrition which usually characterizes this genre. The book is the saga of Jed Morris, a Jewish proletarian playwright who, in the span of twelve years, advances from a twenty-five-dollar-a-week job as director of a Greenwich Village experimental theater to a Hollywood writer's office at a considerable increase in salary, if not peace of mind. En route, he runs through a mixed bag of three legal and common law marriages and has such an astounding variety of more casual erotic encounters that this book is certain to have impressive drug-store appeal in later, more pliant editions.

Throughout these years, Jed remains a steadfast radical socialist and finally becomes an active mem-

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ber of the Communist Party. He comes to his inevitable disillusion late. Although he has managed to withstand the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and sundry other baffling switches of the Party Line, he is, at the end, so appalled by the Party's demands on his personal liberties that he sits right down and has a heart attack.

All this takes place to the accompanyment of a great deal of bohemian carrying on, replete with breezy reference to Dada demonstrations in Paris, adultery on the Riviera and trench-coated journalism in French Morocco. Dos Passos has made a strenuous attempt to endow this book with such an easy, almost meretricious coating of surface glamor, and has generally employed such gross motivation, flippantly eccentric dialogue and monotonously usual dialogue, that it really seems to represent the tragic exhaustion of a once formidable talent. The book's prime significance is, however, a political one.

Now it should come as no surprise to those who read his political apologia several years ago in *Life*, that Dos Passos not only does not like Communists but is so far on the side of the angels as to be practically indistinguishable from the editors of the *American Mercury*. If, on this present occasion, he has intended to produce a sort of anti-Communist morality play, he has failed. He has underestimated the caliber of his enemy to the extent that he has produced an outright farce. The Marxist liberals who figure on the pages of *Most Likely to Succeed* are, almost without exception, portrayed as a bunch of lighthearted, superficial boobs who have taken up Marx as you or I might take up Canasta. Even the 'professional' Communists appear as bumbling, comic opera villains. The result is a drawn out *argumentum ad hominem* that, like all such arguments, has little validity.

This is not to deny that the liberal climate of the 1930's did not have its share of dilettantism and was not rife with naiveté. On the other hand it is impossible to ignore the amount of sincere enthusiasm and integrity that this climate also contained and, ironically, it is Dos Passos' own *USA* that has given us the most poignant expression of the spiritual hunger and energy of the Depression Marxists. In the face of his own earlier accomplishment, it seems in unfortunate taste for Dos Passos to write off this moral phenomenon as being little more than a trifling dialectic diversion born out of drink and ennui.

Victorian Tragedy

JOHN RUSKIN. By Joan Evans. Oxford. $4.25.

By RILEY HUGHES

RUSKIN, Henry James decided, was a very simple matter. It was merely, he wrote in 1869, that Ruskin "has been scared back by the grim face of reality into the world of unreason and illusion, and . . . he wanders there without a compass or guide—or any light save the fitful flashes of his beautiful

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genius." That Ruskin is not quite so open a business for explication, Joan Evans intricately demonstrates. Her book has the persuasive authority of her rich background—"I, too, am a Victorian"— as a distinguished historian of art and as co-editor of the soon-to-be-published Ruskin manuscript diaries. In addition to all that, she is something rare and wonderful in a biographer: she is an exasperated partisan.

Ruskin's personal tragedy and his dismaying arrogance and limitations as a critic and thinker would tempt many a biographer to oversimplification. For those in the mood for debunking Victorians, he offers incredible bounty: his childhood of almost sinister withdrawal; his unconsummated marriage lasting six years; his later pathetic attachment to a young girl, a mere child thirty years his junior; his bland and contradictory eccentricities; and finally his periods of madness. Whole books could be, and a few have been, erected on the partial timber provided by any of the large aspects of Ruskin's life. The auto-eroticism of his youth has elsewhere been made much of; Miss Evans properly relegates it to a footnote. It is always much easier to sneer and slang and blast one's way than it is to work patiently, and with surgical sharpness and precision that banish error and dullness alike, as Miss Evans does here.

A "simply and sincerely egocentric" man, Ruskin was always going, as Carlyle dourly observed, from "the personal question" to "the universal one." It is one of the chief merits of this book that it guides us to the amazing interpenetration of the personal question on Ruskin's creative life. The more frustrated he became in private matters, the more vigorously he was public teacher, prophet, and iconoclast. One knew this in a general way, yet the web of circumstances has never before been so closely woven and brilliantly interpreted.

Ruskin himself gives us the best account of his boyhood, which was a prolonged siege that makes the early years of John Stuart Mill seem freedom itself in comparison. To say that Ruskin for better than half of his eighty years was "over-protected" is to indulge in the wildest understatment. The "bridle and blinkers were never taken off me," he wrote. He was, indeed, past fifty before he was without at least one parent to placate, cajole, or pretend deference to. When as a youth he fell in love with the daughter of his father's Catholic partner, Mrs. Ruskin, with all gentleness and delicacy, broke his spirit. As a critic of art Ruskin continued, Miss Evans holds, "the peculiar sensibility of an adolescent"; he carried into maturity the sensibility that was his "when the failure of his love affair with Adèle Domecq froze his other emotions." While Ruskin was at Oxford, his mother "established herself there in a private watch-tower." When it could no longer be avoided, Ruskin's parents permitted his marriage, a marriage they had already made a psychological impossibility. Miss Evans argues, as Ruskin did, against any suggestion of impotence. Apparently too she considers as canard Ruskin's reputed wedding-night pronouncement to Effie, "We must live as the blessed angels do," for she does not mention it.

However thoroughly his parents blighted Ruskin's life—and Miss Evans blames most of all the "tainted heredity" they gave him—they also pointed their son, of whose genius they had no doubt, in many of the most fruitful directions that genius would take. Their many journeys with him on the Continent—after he was forty he was permitted to travel in a separate carriage—and their devotion to his development counted for much. The suffocating world of their protectiveness helped him, by way of reaction, to see liberating magic in geology, in architecture, and in landscape painting. His most ecstatic pages (the "purple passages" he grew ashamed of) were in part his release from the constant inter-

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ference of the two devoted incubi who turn up constantly in Miss Evans' book simply as "the parents." Whatever the irritant, Ruskin turned out book after book, to the delight of the middle classes, whose tastes he imperiously formed, and to the dismay of scholars driven to desperation by his half-knowledge and full genius.

"Of course I read Ruskin," said Eric Gill, but he was writing of the year 1900 and thinking of Ruskin the social reformer even more than Ruskin the critic of art. The two were and are inseparable, of course, because Ruskin was among the earliest, and he was certainly the most eloquent and effective, of those who saw that an ugly art and ugly living standards are the necessary consequences of an ugly civilization. Here, even though he is now seldom read or consciously used as guide, Ruskin's influence remains. Considering his chaotic life, his "historical ignorance" as a critic, and the conflict between his social thought and actual social experiments, it is an enormous heritage that he has left behind him. And it is one from which, as Miss Evans shows, we still draw benefit.

Party Members

THE APPEALS OF COMMUNISM. By Gabriel A. Almond. Princeton. $6.

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

ONE of the most tragic failures of American politics is its inability to understand the appeal of Communism. On the whole, some version of the devil theory is resorted to when dealing with the various Communist Parties. The subject matter of this book is therefor of crucial importance. It is unfortunate that the author and his collaborators have not more successfully met its challenge. The reason for their failure is not the absence of methodology; it is the presence of too much methodology.

The technique used is that of comment upon the statistical evaluation of interviews. It is similar to that found in C. Wright Mills' *New Men of Power*. Having determined on such a social scientific approach, a writer must be judged on the basis of that approach. He cannot say, as Mr. Almond does in the preface: "It is quite clear from the foregoing that the data used in this study fail to fulfill the canons of scientific method." Why, then, the continuous pretense of scientific method throughout this book?

The study of American Communists is drawn from sixty-four interviews, of British Communists from fifty, of French Communists from fifty-six and of Italian Communists from fifty-one. Since such a sample is *not* the necessary basis for a statistical method, one wishes that the author had written a straightforward essay. This is the more true because of some of the excesses of sociological jargon that result from the use of the pseudo-statistical method. Do we need a table, broken down by social class, in order to learn that intellectuals have read more Marx and Engels when they join the Party than workers have? Or that an agitational Stalinist publication is less theoretical than one designed for Party militants? When confronted with such "deductions," one has the uncomfortable feeling of being in the presence of the solemn codification of the obvious.

Yet, in this codification of the obvious, there is one real merit, because in the case of the American Communist Party the obvious has escaped the attention of many of our legislators. Mr. Almond points out that there are different reasons for joining the Communist Party, different functions within it, different attitudes for different people. One cannot conceive of the Party as a monolith. It is not simply a case of defending heretics and exposing conspirators, as Sidney Hook has argued, for the American Communist Party is sufficiently complex to have *both* heretics and conspirators in its ranks.

Even more to the point, a single Party member may be *both* a heretic *and* a conspirator. If a democracy sends a spy to jail for the crime of his *political* belief, it is

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not sufficient to say that a spy has been sent to jail.

All of this puts a reviewer in a quandary. One's normal reaction would be to criticize *The Appeals of Communism* because it uses the pretense of a statistical approach to arrive at conclusions which for the most part are obvious. But, on the other hand, one's trust in the ability of people to recognize the obvious has become somewhat soured these days. From this point of view, I hope that this book has a wide, wide circulation.

Primitive Dreams

MY LIFE IN THE BUSH OF GHOSTS. By Amos Tutuola. Grove Press. $3.50.

By JEAN HOLZHAUER

THE late Dylan Thomas and the editors of this book concur that the kind of adventure set forth by Amos Tutuola is indescribable, and the present reviewer is content to rest with that judgment. What counts more than subject matter in dealing with the author of *The Palm Wine Drinkard* is mood, and though the two aspects are by no means separable in this man's work, mood transcends material to give readers the eerie sensation that a bush of African ghosts is recognizable territory, all, all traversed before.

Unwillingly, recognition is wrenched out by the style, a pell-mell but effortless progression from detail to detail, canny, uncanny, somewhat in the order of Alice running as fast as she could to stay in one place. The dream quality of Wonderland, everything larger than life but disembodied, is here recreated in the tale of a creature's seeking home—naive and artful, distractable by ghosts where ghosts are a commonplace, but endlessly, deviously determined. Curious journey, a pilgrim's progress turned inside out and divested of morality.

Something has already been made of Mr. Tutuola's primitive sophistication, his "discernible expression of the unconscious of a race." There is truth to it. The question reiterated by his writing is where and when we have been through all this before, this elision of experiences viewed through a glass of the unconscious, this involuntary recording of horrors and amusements without assessment either moral or aesthetic, or even protective?

The answer, we must suppose, is that Amos Tutuola, out of the freshness of an unconventional background, has hit upon what is simply one possible way of describing life. To do that, successfully to describe life on any level, is to evoke the half-lit memories of anyone alive.

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